

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XVIII

April, 1925

No. 2



PROVIDENCE GRENAДИER'S CAP



BRITISH SOLDIER'S CAP

Revolutionary Headgear

From the Society's Museum

Issued Quarterly

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XVIII

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No. 2

HOWARD W. PRESTON, *President* EDWARD K. ALDRICH, Jr., *Treasurer*
GEORGE T. SPICER, *Secretary* HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

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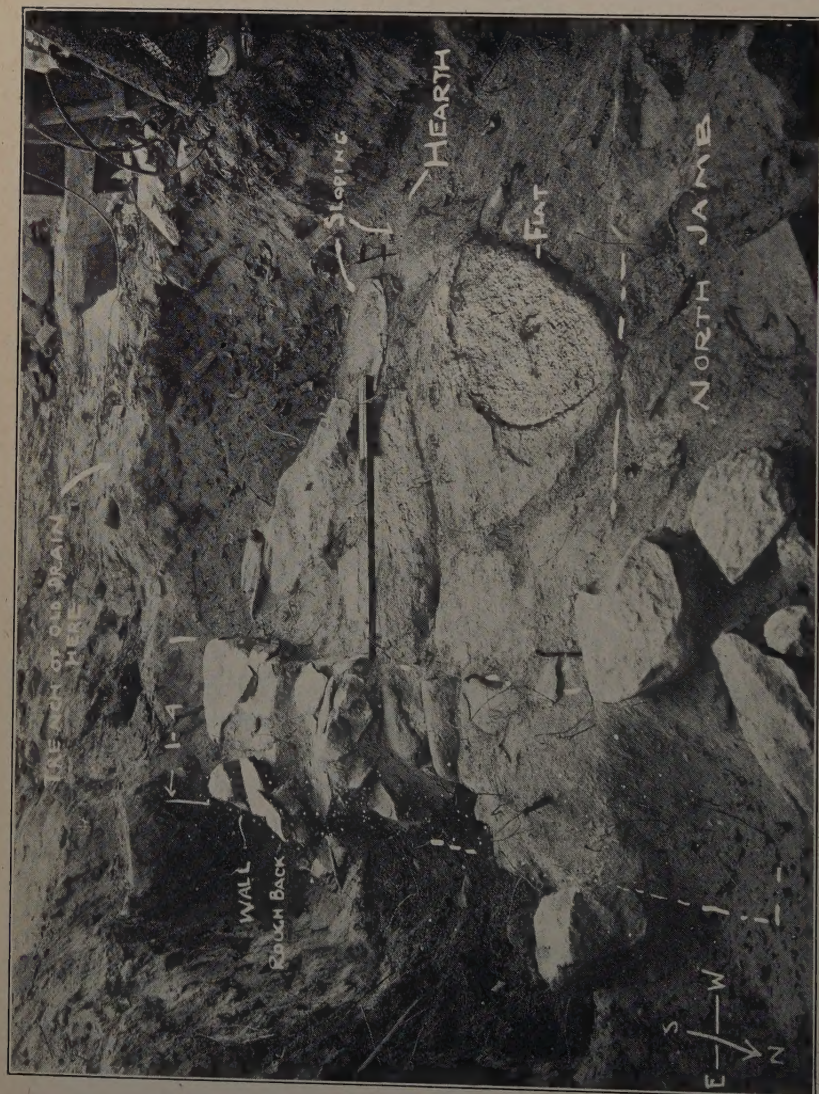
The House of Roger Williams

By NORMAN M. ISHAM

[In 1906 the foundations of Roger Williams' house near North Main Street, Providence, were excavated under the direction of Mr. Isham and Mr. Weston. The photographs showing the results of his investigations are published for the first time in this issue of the *Collections*. The report made by Mr. Isham at that time in regard to these excavations follows.]*

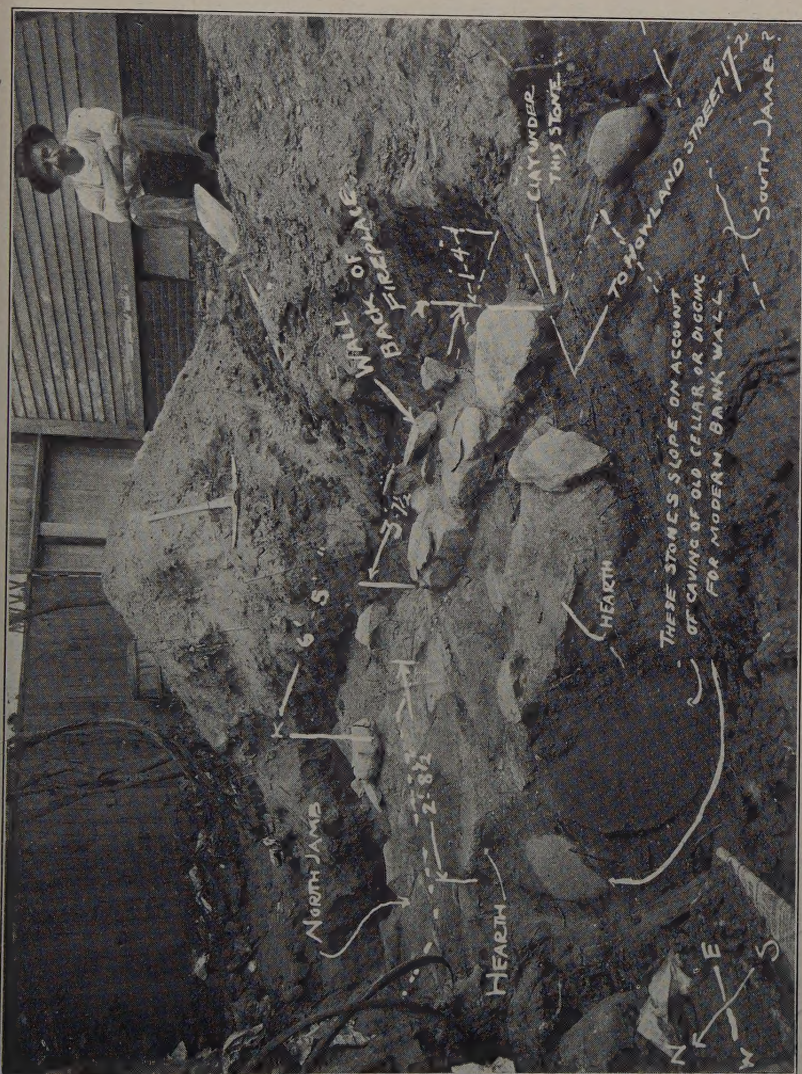
Mr. Weston and I met Mr. A. L. Almy, the architect, one of the present owners, on September 18th, on the lot. Mr. Almy showed us the present arrangement and pointed out the place where when he was a boy he saw Mr. Randall dig, as well as the place where, in digging the drain, the workmen encountered the wall again. Mr. Weston and I, as a sub-committee charged with the placing of the tablet, thought we ought

*For evidence identifying the location, see *Report of Committee on Marking Historical Sites in Rhode Island*, 1914, p. 32.



Foundations of Roger Williams' House, Providence

View from north



Foundations of Roger Williams' house, Providence
View from south-west

to check Mr. Randall's discoveries, if we could. Mr. Almy agreed to allow any amount of digging and, accordingly, a man who was obtained from Mr. Adams, the mason, was put to work on September 19th. We began about nine feet back from the bank and trenched westward. We soon struck the wall, and continuing, unearthed a large flat stone. Turning north and south we laid bare a section of wall over three feet long and sixteen inches thick, standing eight or ten inches above the flat stone alluded to. More flat stones appeared, and traces of wall on the north were visible.

The work had to be done very carefully, much of it (on hands and knees) with a trowel and brush. We dug at the north in the line of the wall, but found nothing, though we went down in the sand which underlies the site to a point from which the sounding rod would reach hard pan. The wall had never extended in this direction. A search on the south was equally fruitless, as the drain excavation had evidently destroyed the wall at this point. Nothing was to be looked for on the west, for the bank wall with the excavation for the yard had cut off everything.

Clay appeared in some of the joints of the wall on the inside. The outside seemed to be laid dry. Clay also appeared in the joints between the flat stones west of the wall, and a heap of clay was found lying upon these stones. It looked very much as if it had been put there, and appeared also under one of the stones as if used for mortar between it and the one below.

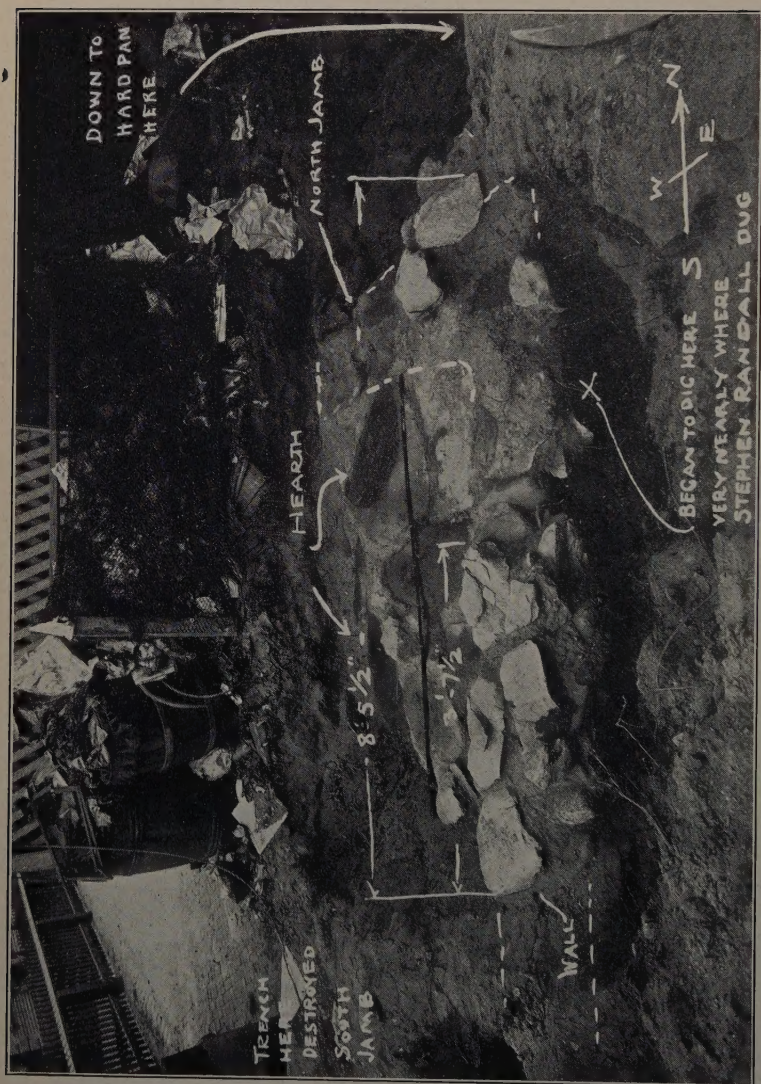
When the ruins were cleared, September 20th, we had them photographed from several different points of view. Measurements were taken of them, and they were located from the bank wall and from the lines of Howland street, and from North Main street. The grade of Howland street was also taken with a level and the height of the flat stone of the ruin was taken above a point on the curb at North Main street.

These fragments, just described, are, in our opinion, the remains of the fireplace and the chimney of Roger Williams' house. The flat stones arranged as they are, the fragment of wall where the back of the chimney should be, with all the char-



Foundations of Roger Williams' house, Providence

View from south-east



Foundations of Roger Williams' house, Providence
View from east

acteristics of such a chimney back, heat cracks and all, the trace of a jamb, faint though it be, on the north, all point to this conclusion.

When the house was burnt or otherwise destroyed, we believe the former, the chimney stood for some years, as one near the state farm wall is still standing, as the King chimney is still, and as a chimney or more in various parts of the state are standing.

Bye and bye it fell, and as the upper parts went first the debris gradually covered the lower parts and protected them. After many years, with the ground unoccupied, as we have tried to show this was, there would be only a green mound, covered with weed or grass, troublesome to spade or plough, and hence left alone. Sentiment too may have had some effect even among our forefathers. Who knows? At any rate, there can be shown to anyone who desires proof of this statement, the remnants of certain old stacks which have gone that way to destruction and are in the condition described.

In conclusion, can we tell anything from our find as to the form and size of Roger Williams' house? The find simply strengthens the claim made in *Early R. I. Houses*, that the ancient houses of the town were like the Roger Mowry house, one room, story-and-a-half affairs, with a stone chimney at the end turned toward the hill. The fire room, lower room or hall, was 15 or 16 feet by 17, and about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The roof was very steep. The foundation, as in this case, was very shallow, and if there was a cellar under the house it was simply a hole with sloping sides, a place to keep potatoes from freezing, or what they had in place of potatoes, and was reached either on the outside from the lower ground of the sloping hillside, or from within by a trap door, most likely the latter, on account of prowling animals.

Notes

Professor Charles Wilson Brown of Brown University gave a very interesting talk at our Annual Meeting upon "The Geologic Sources of the Implements of our Local Indians."

The following persons have been admitted to membership in the Society:

Mr. E. Harris Howard, Jr.
Mr. Wilfred I. Duphiney
Mrs. Mable K. Rogers
Miss Lilian B. Miner
Mrs. A. B. Bradshaw
Mrs. Stephen E. Hopkins
Miss Emily J. Anthony
Mr. Wilbur D. Brown
Mrs. Alice C. Gleeson
Mr. Edward L. Coman
Miss Evelyn M. Purdy
Mrs. Ellsworth L. Kelley
Mr. William P. Comstock
Mr. Ellery A. Hall
Mrs. William H. Mansfield

Antiques for December, 1924, contains an illustrated article on John Carlile, cabinet-maker, of Providence, by L. Earle Rowe. The portrait of Carlile, which is owned by the Society, is reproduced in this article.

A Brief Account of the William Withington Plat of Boston Neck, which was prepared by William Davis Miller, and published by the Society of Colonial Wars, is a valuable contribution to early South County history. On this plat, which was made in 1675, the Bonnet is designated as "Scotts Bonnet," doubtless as Mr. Miller explains, "because of its imagined likeness to a Glengarry."

South County Studies of some Eighteenth Century persons, places and conditions in that portion of Rhode Island called Narragansett, by Esther Bernon Carpenter, with an introduction by Caroline Hazard, has been recently printed for subscribers.

The third volume of *The American Colonies during the Eighteenth Century*, by Prof. Herbert L. Osgood, contains a chapter on Colonial Rhode Island describing the boundary disputes and the successive banks of bills of credit.

The American States during and after the Revolution, 1775-1789, by Allan Nevins, contains many items relating to the history of Rhode Island during this period.

Anchors of Tradition, a presentment of some little known facts and persons in a small corner of Colonial New England called Narragansett to which are added certain weavings of fancy from the thread of life upon the loom of time, by Caroline Hazard, gathers and preserves in an attractive form the author's studies, ballads, and stories relating to the South County. A more detailed treatment of some of the subjects would be welcomed.

The Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies, by R. H. Akagi (D. Appleton & Co.) is a welcome addition to the history of New England. The author has not confined his researches to printed sources but has used many manuscript records. The proprietors of Providence are incidentally mentioned.

A detailed account of places of historical interest in East Greenwich by Emily Gertrude Arnold appears in program of the *Sixth Annual State Convention of the American Legion*, 1924.

Judge Walter E. Vincent has presented to the Society a number of Rhode Island pamphlets and a bass drum which was used in the Dorr War and in 1861.

The objects of interest that were found among the ruins of the Jireh Bull garrison house on Tower Hill, which was burned in King Philip's War, have been turned over to the Society's Museum. A general account of these excavations will be found in our "Collections" for January, 1918.

Mr. Daniel Berkeley Updike has presented to the Society some of the manuscript account books of Daniel Updike of North Kingstown.

The Title Guarantee Company has issued an historical calendar illustrated with portraits of persons connected with the early history of this locality. Unfortunately, owing to the fact that no authentic portraits of these worthies are extant, those that appear in the calendar of necessity are merely idealistic.

Col. H. Anthony Dyer has presented to the Society the silver thimble marked Esther Willitt, which was found in excavations at the Willitt house in East Providence. It belonged to Esther Willitt, daughter of Thomas Willitt, first English Mayor of New York, and dates from the period preceding King Philip's War.

Report of the Treasurer

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1924.

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR., *Treasurer, in account with the RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.* For current account, viz.:

DR.

CASH ON HAND January 1, 1924

In Nat'l Bank of Commerce, (Checking Account)...	\$412 95
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 1)	1,593 16
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 3)	16 13
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Investment Account) ..	58 40
" Bonds, The Government of the Dominion of Canada (Special Account No. 3).....	3,012 41
Check and Money	8 00
	<hr/> \$5,101 05
Receipts from Annual Dues.....	\$1,935 00
" " Binding Account	05
" " Books	70 37
" " Expense Account (Refunds).....	13 17
" " Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund (Interest)	29 66
" " Grounds and Building.....	1 65
" " Investments	1,130 76
" " Newspaper Account	273 55
" " Publications	164 00
" " Rental of Rooms.....	38 00
" " Special Account No. 1.....	56 77
" " Special Account No. 3.....	150 00
" " Supplies	60
" " State Appropriations	1,500 00
" " Dividends and Interest.....	4,247 51
	<hr/> 9,611 09
	<hr/> \$14,712 14

TREASURER'S REPORT

43

CR.

Ashes	\$38 25	
Binding	413 15	
Books	614 70	
Electric Lighting	32 59	
Exhibitions and Lectures.....	55 74	
Expenses	194 09	
Fuel	681 75	
Gas	7 48	
Grounds and Building.....	905 03	
Investments	998 17	
Janitorial Services	354 53	
Publications	1,077 70	
Salaries	3,216 00	
Special Account No. 1.....	373 37	
Special Account No. 3.....	50 00	
Supplies	317 61	
Telephone	52 88	
Water	8 00	
Newspaper Account	584 09	
		\$9,975 13

CASH ON HAND December 31, 1924

In Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)...	\$104 75	
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 1)	1,274 56	
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 3)	116 13	
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Investment Account).	190 99	
" Bonds, The Government of the Dominion of Canada, 5's, 1952	3,012 41	
Money and Checks not deposited (Spec. Acct. No. 1, \$2.00; Checking Acct., \$36.17).....	38 17	
		4,737 01
		\$14,712 14

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR., *Treasurer, in account with the* RHODE ISLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY 1, 1925.

LIABILITIES.

Grounds and Building.....\$25,000 00
Permanent Endowment Fund:

Samuel M. Noyes.....	\$12,000 00
Henry J. Steere.....	10,000 00
James H. Bugbee.....	6,000 00
Charles H. Smith.....	5,000 00
Charles W. Parsons.....	4,000 00
William H. Potter.....	3,000 00
Esek A. Jillson.....	2,000 00
John Wilson Smith.....	1,000 00
William G. Weld.....	1,000 00
Charles C. Hoskins.....	1,000 00
Charles H. Atwood.....	1,000 00

—————\$46,000 00

Publication Fund:

Robert P. Brown.....	\$2,000 00
Ira B. Peck.....	1,000 00
William Gammell	1,000 00
Albert J. Jones.....	1,000 00
William Ely	1,000 00
Julia Bullock	500 00
Charles H. Smith.....	100 00

————— 6,600 00

Life Membership Fund.....	4,850 00
Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund.....	734 52
Special Account No. 1 (National Bank of Commerce).....	1,274 56
Special Account No. 3 (National Bank of Commerce).....	116 13
Special Account No. 3 (In Bonds of Government of Dominion of Canada)	3,012 41
Special Account No. 1 (check not deposited).....	2 00

—————\$87,589 62

Apparent Surplus	11,445 59
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—————\$99,035 21

ASSETS.

Investments:

Grounds and Building.....	\$25,000 00
\$5,000.00 Bonds, The N. Y. Edison Co., 6½'s, 1941	\$5,447 85
\$4,000.00 Bonds, Cedar Rapids M. & P. Co., 5's, 1953	3,228 88
\$3,400.00 Liberty Bonds (U. S.) 4th, 4¼, 1st 5½'s	2,976 81
\$3,000.00 Bonds, Central Mfg. Dist.....	3,000 00
\$3,000.00 Bonds, Cleveland El. Il. Co., 5½'s, 1939	2,565 42
\$1,000.00 Bond, Commonwealth Ed. Co., 5's, 1943	965 25
\$1,000.00 Bond, Denver Gas & El. Co., 5½'s, 1949	950 00
\$1,000.00 Bond, Columbus R. P. & L. Co., 5's, 1940	970 00
\$1,000.00 Bond, Dominion of Canada, 5%, 1952..	991 50
\$1,000.00 Bond, Liberty Bond (U. S.), 2nd, 4¼	956 19
\$1,000.00 Bond, Western El. Co., 5's, 1944.....	998 17
\$300.00 Bonds, Un. El. Rys. Prior Lien, 4's, 1946	231 27
Mortgage, P. A. and H. A. Cory.....	2,975 00
Participation Account in Industrial Trust Company, Franklin Lyceum Memorial Fund	734 52
125 Shares, New York Central Railroad Co....	12,500 00
111 Shares, Pennsylvania Railroad Company....	7,188 45
30 Shares, Lehigh Valley Railroad Company...	2,112 50
6 Shares, Lehigh Valley Coal Sales Company.	241 85
40 Shares, Milwaukee El. Ry. & Lt. Co., pref.	3,900 00
55 Shares, American Tel. & Tel. Co.....	7,123 61
60 Shares, Providence Gas Company.....	5,005 68
30 Shares, Merchants Nat'l Bank, Prov.....	1,800 00
45 Shares, Blackstone Canal Nat'l Bank.....	1,050 00
6 Shares, Narragansett El. Lt. Co.....	335 00
10 Shares, Union Tank Car, preferred, 7%....	1,050 25
	<hr/> \$69,298 20

Cash on hand:

In Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Checking Account)...	\$104 75
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 1)	1,274 56
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Special Account No. 3)	116 13
" Nat'l Bank of Commerce (Investments Account).	190 99
" Bonds, Dominion of Canada, 5's, 1952 (Special Account No. 3)	3,012 41
Checks and Money (Spec. Acct. No. 1), \$2.00; Checking Acct., \$36.17)	38 17
	<hr/> \$4,737 01
Total Assets	<hr/> \$99,035 21

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD K. ALDRICH, JR.

Treasurer

List of Active Members of the Rhode Island Historical Society

January 1, 1925

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Mr. Frederick E. Tripp
Mr. William J. Tully
Mr. D. Berkeley Updike
Mr. William A. Viall
Hon. Walter B. Vincent
Mrs. Arthur M. Walker
Mr. A. Tingley Wall
Mrs. Lewis A. Waterman
Hon. Ralph C. Watrous
Col. Byron S. Watson
Mr. John J. Watson, Jr.
Mrs. William B. Weedon
Mr. Frederick Lewis Weis
Mr. Richard Welling
Mr. John H. Wells
Mr. Thomas H. West, Jr.
Mr. Willis H. White
Mrs. Gerald Whitman
Mr. Victor Wilbour
Mr. Frank J. Wilder
Mrs. Elizabeth K. Wilkinson
W. Fred Williams, M.D.
Miss Amey L. Willson
Mr. William A. Wing
Mrs. George P. Winship
Hon. John Carter Brown Woods
Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth
Mr. William P. Young
Mrs. William P. Young

The Inscribed Rocks of Narragansett Bay

BY EDMUND B. DELABARRE

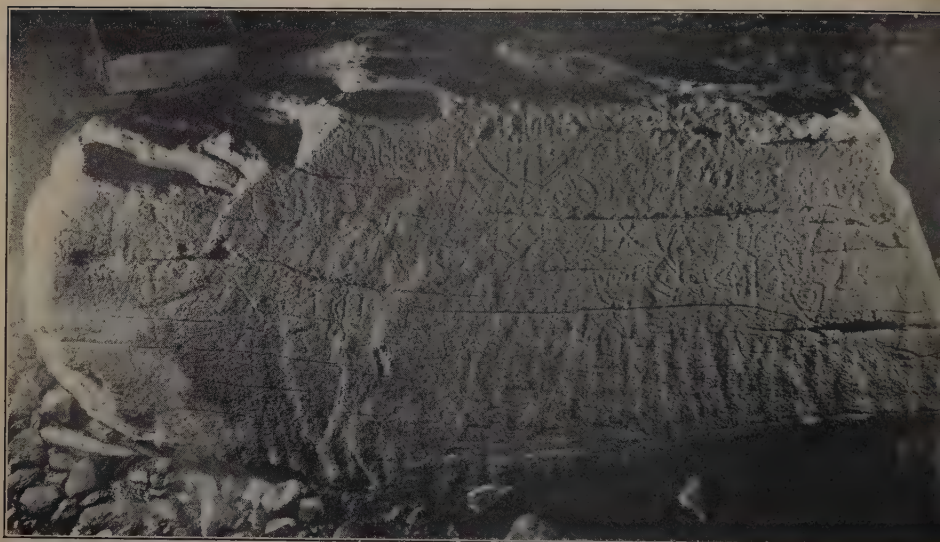
VII. DIGHTON ROCK; MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIBED ROCKS AND STONES

On the shores of Narragansett Bay itself, besides the "Banner Stone" described on page ninety-six of the twelfth volume of these Collections and the rocks already dealt with in this series of papers, there has been reported but one other inscribed rock, which was probably formerly situated at Gardner's Point on Mattapoisett Neck in Swansea, but which has long since disappeared. We are indebted to Dr. Webb for the single extant account of it. He first alluded to its existence in his letter to Rafn on September 22, 1830. But when he sought to discover it somewhat later, he failed in the attempt, and shortly sent to Rafn a full account of the circumstances, in his letter of October 31, 1835.¹ He had first learned of it about 1820 from a Mr. Gardner of Dighton, who, then eighty years old and living near Dighton Rock, "recollected perfectly well of seeing, when a boy, a similar rock" on his father's farm in Swansea. On August 5, 1835, Dr. Webb visited Swansea in company with John R. Bartlett. "We traced the shore along for some distance, but unsuccessfully. Mr. Gardner, aet. 70, who owns the last farm on the Point, and is brother to the one already spoken of, had an indistinct recollection of having seen a rock on the East side of the Point, about one-fourth of a mile from its extremity, which had marks on it, 'but none,' as he observed, 'that would be read;' this he thinks was broken up 20 years ago or more. We searched for it, but in vain."

Although not directly on the Bay itself, yet lying within its basin or near enough to belong to the same cultural region, and thus to come within the legitimate range of our inquiries, are

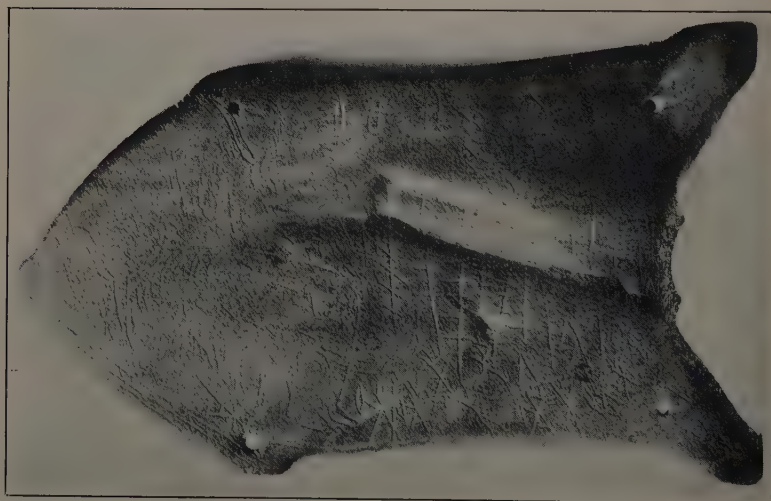
¹See *Antiquitates Americanae*, 1837, p. 490.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY—PLATE XXIX



Copyright, 1920, by E. B. Delab

Dighton Rock, photographed by flashlight, July 17, 1920



One side of Hammond Tablet; perhaps fraudulent

several other rocks and stones with carved inscriptions, to which brief attention must be given. Among them is the earliest known and most famous rock of all, generally known as the Dighton Rock, because Assonet Neck, on which it is situated, was once within the limits of ancient Dighton, although it is now included in the town of Berkley, across the Taunton River from modern Dighton. It has probably received more attention and aroused more controversy than any other similar monument anywhere. It was first mentioned, and its inscription drawn in part, by Rev. John Danforth of Dorchester, in 1680. The extraordinary interest that it has aroused since then is attested by the facts that its bibliography embraces over six hundred titles, covering a range of 250 years; that more than twenty attempts have been made to depict its inscription in drawings, at least a dozen more by means of photographs made after chalking on the rock what the observer interpreted as artificial lines, two others by direct ink-impressions, and one by a plaster cast; and that more than twenty theories have been devised and actively disputed concerning its origin and meaning. We can say with complete confidence that not one of these drawings or photographs of chalked lines is at all reliable, and that all of the theories are mistaken, except, in part, the one which attributes the marks to the Indians. I have myself adopted an improved method of photographing the rock, without any touching up of its inscribed lines with chalk or otherwise, thus showing the surface exactly as it is, without prejudice as to what was carved upon it. These photographs are made at night, with the camera pointing perpendicularly to the centre of the inscribed face, and with flashlight glancing sidewise close along the surface. It is well known that this "shadow-lighting" brings out elevations and depressions more clearly than any other method of illumination, and the result is that it is more profitable as well as vastly easier to study the photograph than the rock itself. One of the best of the many photographs that I have made is presented in Plate XXIX. By study of it, as well as of the rock itself, I have arrived at certain conclusions, which, together with the whole

history of the rock, I have presented in detail elsewhere,¹ but which can be only briefly outlined here. I believe that it is highly probable, although not wholly certain, that the first inscription placed upon the rock was as follows: "1511. Miguel Cortereal. V. Dei hic Dux Ind.;"² that a tradition of the Indians, related by two independent authorities, refers to Cortereal's arrival here; that another date, 1592, is fairly legible, perhaps followed by a name that I am not yet sure of, but that may be Thach or Thacher;³ that the next writing was made about 1640 by men from Taunton, when they first began cutting hay from the neighboring salt meadows, and that it gave directions for finding, at "167 yards" from the rock, an "Injun Trail to Spring in Swomp;" that it was very likely only later, between 1640 and 1675, inspired by the white men's example, that Indians drew pictures and designs of their own, probably with little or no significance; and that the Indian designs include three separate human figures, two other human figures with hands joined, a number of triangular devices, several X's, a turtle, two deer, and a great number of less regular or less legible lines, scribbings, characters, or pictures.

A headstone to an Indian grave in Dighton, now in the Museum of the Old Colony Historical Society in Taunton, furnishes a proof that Indians, under white influence, learned to carve inscriptions on stone, or else that a white man did it for them in ideographic symbols that would be intelligible to them with a little explanation. In its upper line is an Indian's head between the Greek letters Chi and Upsilon, which are supposed to stand for Christou Huio—son of Christ. The whole line therefore reads: "Here lies a Christian Indian." Next below is an arrow pointing toward a rectangle enclosing an X; and this

¹Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, volumes XVIII, XIX, XX; and *Old Time New England*, October, 1923, xiv, 51-72.

²That is, "By the will of God, leader of the Indians here." This Cortereal was wrecked in Newfoundland in 1502, and never heard from again. The V. is evidently an abbreviation of *Voluntate*, and the Ind. of *Indorum*.

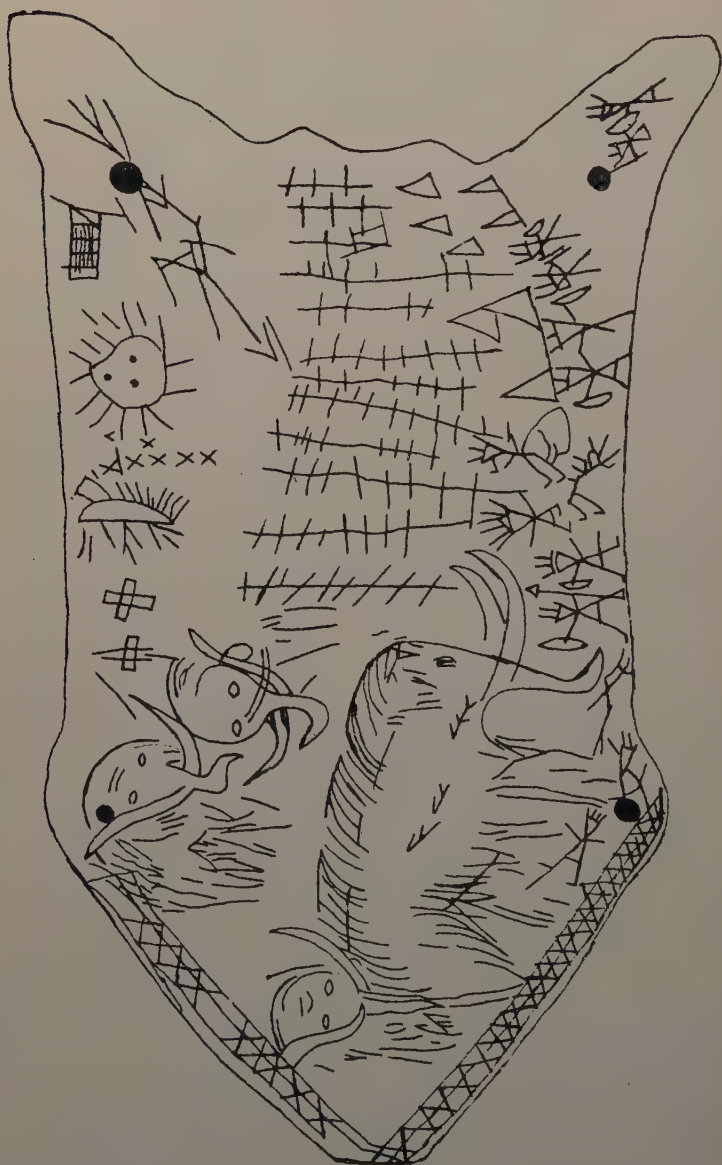
³If this surmise should happen to be correct, he would probably have been one of the English fishermen who at that time were resorting to Newfoundland and beyond in considerable numbers.

rather clearly means: "The aim of his life was toward the Banner of the Cross." Below this is an Indian pipe, undoubtedly meaning in this context: "May he rest in peace." Then follows a Greek letter Delta, possibly the initial of Samuel Danforth, minister at Taunton; who converted many Indians to the Christian faith. Finally, the figures 68 are clear, and were probably part of the complete date 1687, 1688 or 1689, the earliest years of Danforth's ministry. This interpretation was given me by the late James E. Seaver, secretary of the Old Colony Historical Society. It is not known who first suggested it, but it is so obvious that it is almost surely correct.

An elaborately inscribed stone, called the Hammond Tablet by those who know of it, measuring about six and one-half inches by nine and one-half inches, is claimed by a resident of Taunton to have been found by him in 1917 buried a few inches deep in the soil on the bank of the Three Mile River at Westville, two miles from the centre of Taunton. It has been described by Ralph Davol in the *Boston Sunday Post* for June 26, 1921. It is crowded on both sides with pictographs skilfully executed in the Indian manner, or in evidently designed imitation of it. Except for a much larger number of them in this case, they closely duplicate the pictured symbols on another tablet found fifty years ago in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.¹ On one side of each stone is depicted a scene of combat between Indians aided by the Heavenly Powers, near their wigwams on the edge of a forest, and the great hairy American mammoth. On the other side are numerous designs that undoubtedly symbolize scenes in the history of the migrations of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, as that is related in their historical song, the Walum Olum. Archaeologists have never been willing to acknowledge the authenticity of the engravings on the earlier tablet as genuine Indian records of ancient date or faithfully copied by Indians from an ancient original. In case of this later tablet, we must accept as authoritative the opinion of C. C.

¹H. C. Mercer, *The Lenape Stone, or, The Indian and the Mammoth*. Putnam's, 1885.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY—PLATE XXX

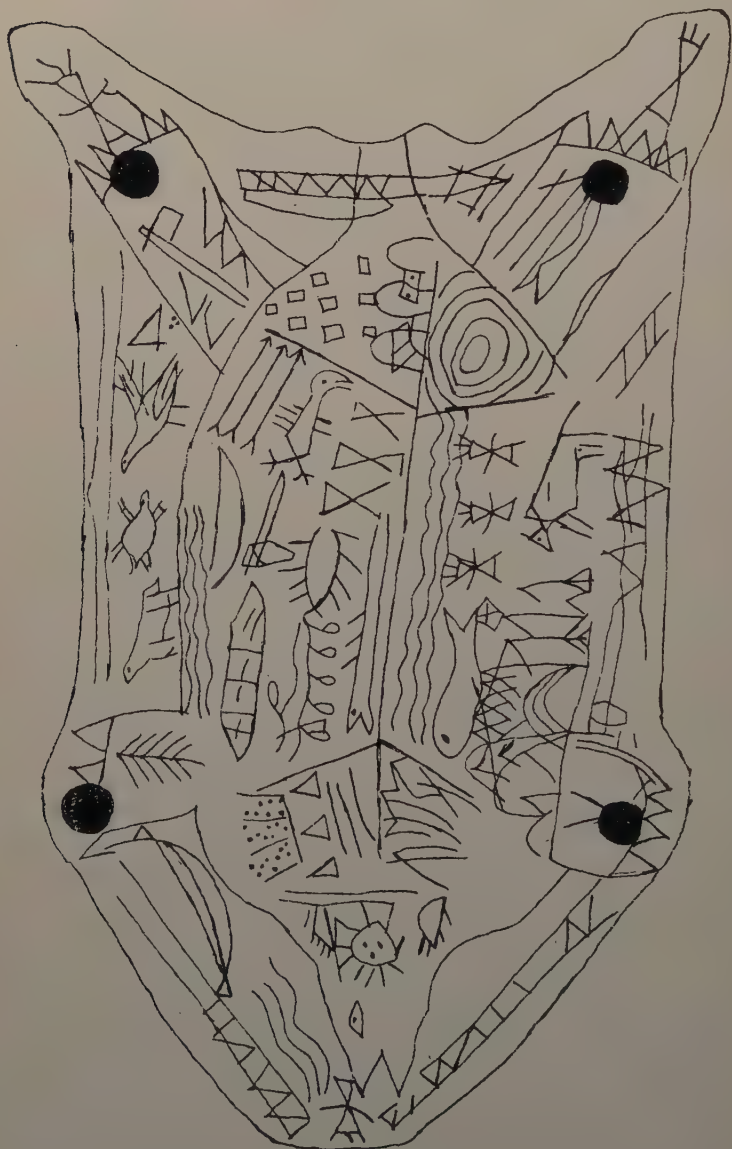


Hammond Tablet, "mammoth" face

Willoughby, director of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, who has examined it and who writes to me about it as follows: "The surface of the tablet does not seem to be very old. The shape of the tablet itself is different from any example of prehistoric art that I have seen. It resembles the spread skin of an animal. A few of the designs on the tablet, notably the three figures of birds and quadrupeds at the top of the side not showing the mammoths, bear a very close resemblance to Indian pictographs. Most of the other designs, however, have little in common with old Indian work. The upper mammoth is drawn in perspective, a method of delineation unknown to Indians unfamiliar with drawings of Europeans. A comparison of this picture with the similar scene upon the so-called Lenape stone shows conclusively either that one of the pictures was copied from the other or that both were made by the same man.¹ I am inclined to the latter opinion, that both are the work of a clever maker of fraudulent 'antiquities.'" In the collection of which the tablet forms a part, "there are thirty or more objects which I am sure are fraudulent. The owner claims that most of them were found by him in Taunton and vicinity. If so, they must have been 'planted' for his benefit. The tablet undoubtedly belongs with this group. I doubt if these fraudulent specimens are of very recent origin. They may have been made several years ago, and it is possible that the 'Lenape' stone formed originally a part of the same lot." Even if fraudulent, this tablet is of sufficient interest to deserve a permanent record. The photograph of Plate XXIX shows the general appearance of one side of it, but it is not possible to see in it very clearly the designs engraved upon the stone. In Plates XXX and XXXI, however, are presented drawings of the two sides, made by first taking rubbings direct from the stone, and then marking on these all lines that seemed to be artificial after careful comparison of the rubbings with the stone. These drawings portray the engravings on the tablet accurately for the most part,

¹Mr. Willoughby might have added another possibility: that both were copied, by one man or by different men, from a third original.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY— PLATE XXXI



Hammond Tablet, "historical face"

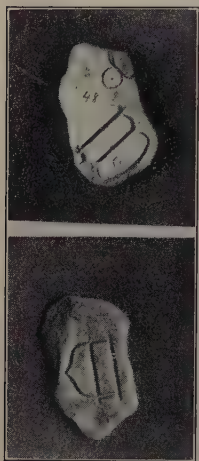
although a few of them were drawn so faintly that one cannot be entirely certain about them.

A small stone, about ten inches in its long diameter, found at West Wrentham, completes our list of genuine and alleged inscriptions within the Narragansett Basin. It has been fully described by Professor Harris H. Wilder.¹ His reproductions of its incisions convince one that if they were intended to convey a definite meaning, the symbolic devices employed were not of a character that could have been widely understood, but were probably individual, or, at most, local and temporary. They look like haphazard and meaningless scribblings. Professor Wilder does not question their Indian origin, and hesitatingly suggests that they may have had some ritualistic use.

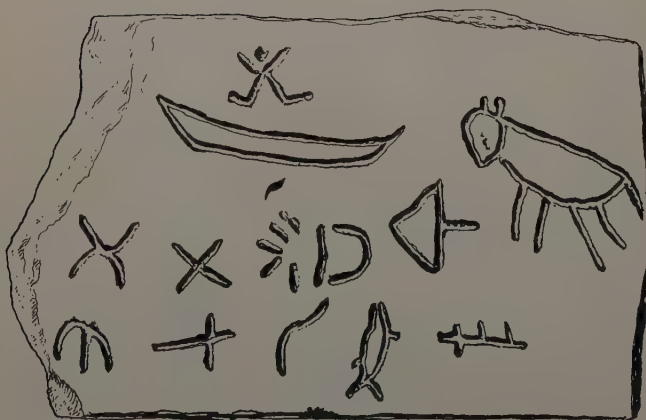
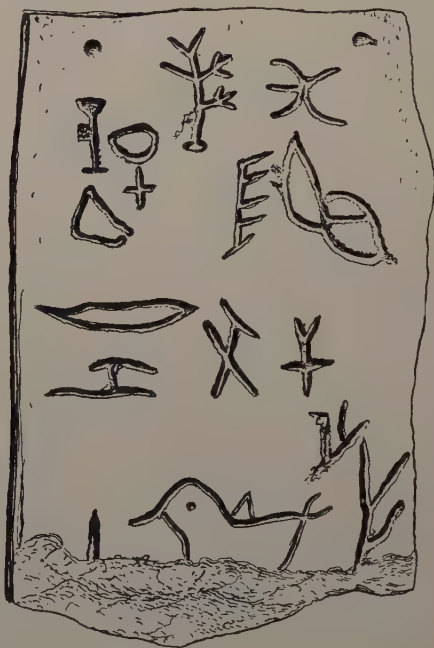
From a little outside our range, perhaps, but still from somewhere in Rhode Island, came a stone whose two sides are pictured in Plate XXXII. It was formerly in the Jenks Museum of Brown University, which was closed some twenty-five or thirty years ago. Its former contents were recently redistributed, and this stone is now in possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society. It is of some slaty material, measuring about six by three and one-half inches, with a thickness tapering regularly from nearly an inch down to a rough irregular blunt edge of about one-fourth inch. The inscribed figures are very unlike the shallow, irregular, pecked ones of known Indian origin in this region. On one side is a shield-like figure whose incisions are smooth, of half-round section, almost uniformly three millimeters deep; also a very shallow design, resembling the Ace of Spades. On the other side is another very regularly and exactly formed figure of similar uniformity and smoothness, four millimeters deep; and two shallower circles, evidently drawn with a compass. These features make it doubtful that it can have been the work of Indians, but if it was, it seems to me that it must have been very late and the result of skill derived from white men's teachings. Nothing whatever is known about the stone, except what is revealed by its label, which mistakenly calls it an

¹A. Petroglyph from Eastern Massachusetts; in *American Anthropologist*, 1911, xiii. 65-67.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY—PLATE XXXII



Denison
Tablet



Inscribed Tablet found at Orient, Long Island

"Inscribed Semilunar Knife," says that it is from Rhode Island, and was presented by Rev. F. Denison. This Mr. Denison lived in Westerly, and made many contributions to the Jenks Museum of specimens gathered by him between 1865 and 1872, most of which were found somewhere in the region between New London and Newport.¹

A small tablet of hard sandstone with engraved figures on both sides was found about forty years ago on a shell heap at Eagle Neck, Orient, at the easterly end of Long Island. It is now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York. The stone measures about seven by four and one-half inches, with a thickness of about seven-eighths of an inch. One side of it has been described and pictured by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton.² From the casts that were submitted to him, he was unable to decipher what was upon the other side. Both sides are here shown in Plate XXXII, after drawings carefully made by Daniel A. Young from the stone itself, and sent to me for publication by Foster H. Saville of the above-named museum. I can add nothing, except the drawing of the second side, to the description and estimate that Brinton gave of it. After naming the figures in order as probably those of a man, canoe, deer, bow and arrow, footprint of bear, sign of fire, unknown object, fish, eel, vague lines, and wigwam, he says: "It seems to be the record of a hunting and fishing excursion, of little importance, which the writer may have amused himself in inscribing on a piece of stone simply because it was suited to the purpose; or, it may have been a mnemonic aid to retain in the memory the words of some hunting song or medicine chant, intended to propitiate the divinities who confer or deny success in fishing or the chase. Whatever it may have been, I see nothing in it to convict it as spurious; nor, on the other hand, anything to indicate that it was a record of a matter of moment."

By extending our survey only a little farther beyond the Narragansett region, we can add several examples to the instruc-

¹F. Denison, *Westerly and Its Witnesses*, 1878, p. 33.

²The *Archæologist* (Waterloo, Indiana), 1893, vol. 1, p. 201.

tive list of mistaken reports that were enumerated in our fourth paper. *The Providence Sunday Journal* for October 21, 1923 (section 1, p. 8, col. 2), tells of a head-and-shoulder outline of a man, hewn into a boulder on the old William Slocum Farm in South Kingstown, long believed by neighbors to be a relic of the "Stone Age," but actually carved by a very small boy fifty years ago. A correspondent wrote to me that he had heard of an inscribed rock in Middleboro, on the Taunton River. This rumor may well have been founded upon the following statement by Henry E. Chase: "In Indian burying ground in Assawamset Neck, in Lakeville, near Middleboro', is a gravestone with a peculiar inscription of two letters or characters."¹ In his fourth manuscript Itinerary, on page 254, under date of September 30, 1788, Stiles has the following note: "Rock 1½ m NW from Acushnet—Writing—near Moses Washburn—K Philip." What the connection was between King Philip and this Writing Rock he does not state. Mr. Louis W. Tilden of New Bedford has kindly investigated this reference for me. He located the Moses Washburn farm and talked with Mr. Skiff, its present occupant. He writes: "Mr. Skiff is about 86 years old, but has a very good memory. He knows of no rocks with inscriptions about there, but does recollect a huge boulder called 'Devil's Rock,' which bore a so-called impression of a human foot and a groove as if a chain had been dragged across it. This rock was demolished back in the forties to supply stone for the New Bedford City Hall. We located its position about ten minutes' walk from the house, and found a few fragments left. It was of a hard granite formation, with a vein of soft, slaty stone running through it. I think this freak of nature was very likely what your memorandum referred to, as it was locally well known." We may be very sure that Stiles would never have called this a Writing Rock if he had seen it. But his memo-

¹Notes on the Wampanoag Indians; in Smithsonian Report for 1883, p. 893. Mr. Chester E. Weston, of Middleboro, thinks that this stone has been stolen, "for a few years ago when I looked for it I could not find it." I have myself searched recently in the burying ground referred to by Mr. Chase, and find no stone there now answering to his description; nor can I find anyone who recalls what the two strange characters looked like.

randum, of course, was written before he had gone there to examine it, and was probably based upon a distorted rumor.

In this same list of mistaken rumors or fraudulent reports we can now definitely include Whittier's famed "Northman's Written Rock" at West Newbury. The facts concerning it were discovered recently by George Francis Dow, editor of *Old Time New England*, who investigated it in company with A. P. Morse and Mr. Jenkins, of the Peabody Museum at Salem. They found the local antiquarian, William Merrill, an elderly man, who was familiar with the story and who took them to the ledge. Mr. Dow writes to me: "To our great disappointment, we found that the supposed markings were only natural cracks in the rocks. There isn't a sign of an artificial marking on the surface. Mr. Merrill told us that an elderly man, a Mr. Follansbee, had told him that at the time when Mr. Pool, the originator of the report of the inscription, visited this ledge, he accompanied him, and he said to Mr. Merrill that Pool at the time was much intoxicated. He recalled that Pool showed him a sketch of the rock, but nothing was said at the time of the appearance or discovery of an inscription. So the legend may be considered as disposed of."

VIII. ADDENDA TO EARLIER PAPERS.

Since this series was begun, I have continued inquiries and observations concerning all of the rocks of which I have already written. Three of them call for a few supplementary remarks.

1. *The Mount Hope Rock*.—After further study of the rock and photograph, I am more strongly convinced than before that the characters are in the Cherokee syllabary. My added confidence is due largely to the fact that I think I can read almost surely now one of the characters that I previously regarded as doubtful. I have found other indubitable examples, as will appear later, in which marks carved on rock continue to be legible under favorable conditions of lighting after the surface bearing them has scaled away. In this case, the character that I numbered 5, resembling OI joined by a horizontal mark, in a

position where exfoliation has occurred, is strongly confirmed by careful examination. Adding it to the other unquestionable Cherokee resemblances leaves very little that could be considered dubious, and makes the Cherokee-Wampanoag reading almost completely certain.

That the inscription was not due to the Northmen is sure. Whatever may be thought about the possibility that they ever came so far south as this, it is certain that they left no other enduring records in New England; the known runic inscriptions by them elsewhere are in definite and recognizable characters; the characters on this rock are not runes; the boat depicted is not a Norse boat. That aboriginal Indians of Colonial times or earlier did not make the marks seems to be equally clear. In the first place, all of the petroglyphs that we can surely attribute to them were made on rocks subject to submergence at high water; while this one was probably high up on the bank when first seen, and only later slid down to its present position. Again, a boat of this type is not a likely object for them to have pictured. Finally and conclusively, the characters are alphabetic or syllabic, utterly unlike those on any other rocks of the region, and equally unlike any which the local Indians are known to have evolved. The other Narragansett rocks resemble one another, and resemble rocks elsewhere of known Indian workmanship in the general character of their marks and pictographs, while this one evidently does not belong to the same group, is unique among known inscribed rocks in the nature of the characters used, and must have had another origin.

On the other hand, the view of it which I developed five years ago is not merely plausible, but highly probable. As we have seen, the inscription must have been in existence as early as 1835, but need not necessarily have existed earlier. There is but the slightest possibility of doubt that it is in Cherokee characters, and as such has a definite and appropriate meaning. Finally, an account of the circumstances of its origin can be given which is not entirely certain, but which is exceedingly plausible in every detail. Thomas C. Mitchell was a half-blooded Indian, born in 1795, whose mother was Patapsico, a native Cherokee,

and whose father was an Englishman. At an early age he became a sea-faring man. It is not known whether or not he ever returned home for a time and learned the Cherokee manner of writing, but this is a not remote possibility. He was living in Charlestown and North Abington in the years between 1828 and 1835. When the party of Penobscots, who encamped in Cambridge in the winter of 1833-1834, visited Warren, as they probably did, he may well have gone with them, for he would naturally have been interested in Indians who came to his vicinity; or he may have gone independently at about the same time, which I regard as less probable. He had married into a family that was proud of its descent from Massasoit, and that had great reverence for King Philip; and he himself, as his daughter Charlotte, or Wootonekanuskè, informs me, "thought that King Philip was a great man." His knowledge of Cherokee, and his visit to Warren and Bristol, are matters of conjecture, it is true. But they are not at all improbable, for, in the first place, the above-mentioned known facts make him an exceedingly likely person to have carved the inscription; and, moreover, he seems to have had a restless and wandering spirit, indicated by the fact that, as his daughter expressed it, "he used to stay at home sometimes for two or three years at a time, and then go off on a sailing trip again." Unless, then, some positive evidence in favor of another view develops, I am convinced that it is so highly probable as to amount nearly to certainty, that the inscription on the Mount Hope Rock was written in Cherokee symbols and Wampanoag words by Thomas C. Mitchell, in or about 1834, and that in translation it reads: "Great Metacomet, Chief Sachem."¹

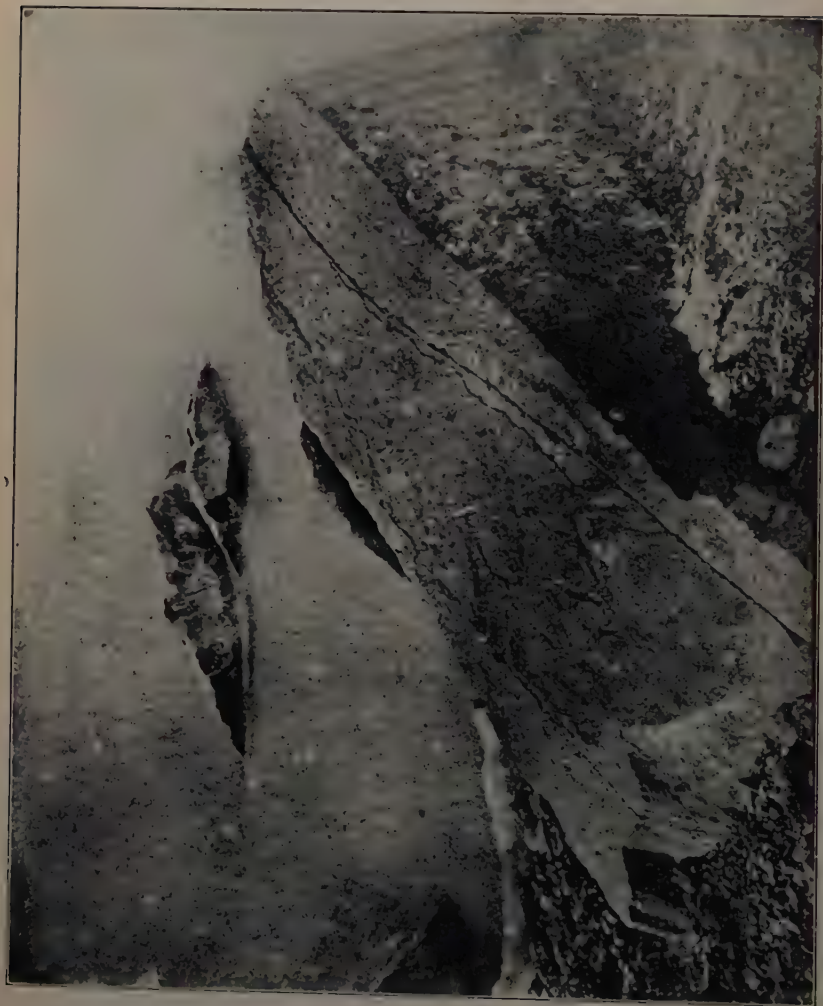
¹To the bibliography of this rock, the following titles may be added:

Cady, Annie C. *A History of New England in Words of One Syllable*, 1888, p. 13f. Illustrated by a copy of Miller's drawing.—Unimportant; suggests Norse origin.

Dubuque, Hugo A. *Fall River Indian Reservation*, 1907, p. 35.—Wampanoags were its authors.

Fales, Ernest. *History of the Norsemen's Visits to Rhode Island and Mass. in the Tenth Century*, by Professor E. Fales, 1888, Chap. IV. Illustration after Miller.—This is an ignorant and illiterate pamphlet of 14

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY - PLATE XXXIII



One of the Inscribed Rocks at Portsmouth, R. I.
Photographed by George H. Chase in 1883

2. *The Portsmouth Rocks*.—Through the courtesy of Dr. William S. Sherman of Newport, I have come into possession of a photograph of one of these rocks, and reproduce it in Plate XXXIII. It was taken in 1883 by George H. Chase of Portsmouth, who writes me that the rock was of grey slate and measured about eight feet in length and four feet in width, with a height of two feet at the upper and eight inches at the lower end. This was undoubtedly the rock called A by Dr. Stiles, and it must have been photographed with the camera looking about westerly. The rocks seen beyond it are the group of three pictured by Stiles directly to the west of A, in the drawing shown in our Plate X; and the other rock, at the extreme left of the photograph, is seen in the same plate a little to the south of A. The zigzags seen by both Stiles and Webb clearly marked upon this rock (Plates VI, no. 3; VIII, XI) are easily seen in the photograph, but the other markings that they drew are obscure and uncertain.

Kendall, in 1807 and 1809, published lists of known sculptured rocks "collected from the MSS of President Stiles and other sources," and referred to these at Portsmouth as follows: "In Narragansett Bay, on Rhode Island near Newport, on the lands of Mr. Job Almy." Misinterpretations of this statement have given rise to many of the mistaken reports of inscribed rocks in or near Newport.

6. *Mark Rock*.—I have discovered a few further pictographs on this ledge, and have taken new photographs of some of its inscriptions.

pages, by a self-styled "professor" of Bristol, R. I. He defends the theory of Norse origin, and claims that the inscription reads: "Rock of safety, and all the power of man cannot take the rock from the place of its situation." How he obtains this reading is not indicated.

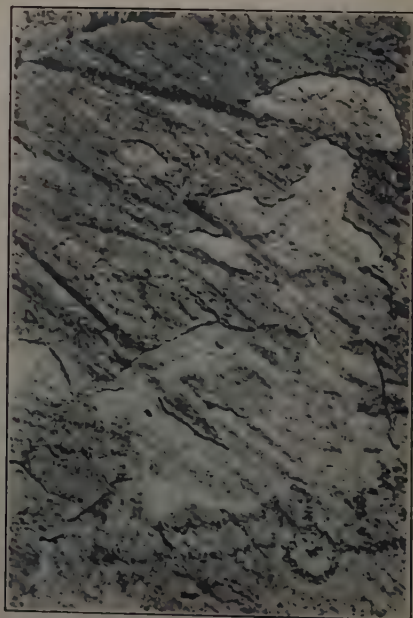
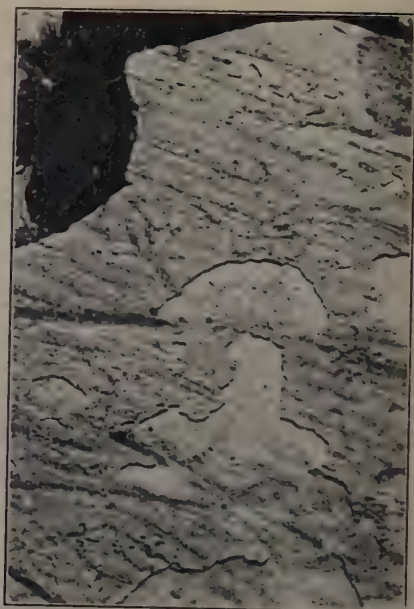
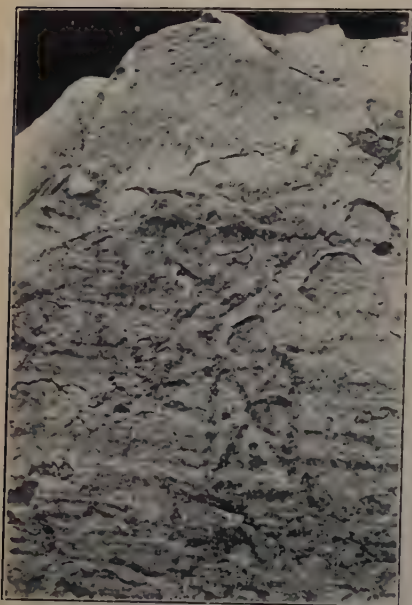
Fenner, Henry M. *History of Fall River*, 1906, p. 1.—Possibly Norse, but question probably will never be satisfactorily answered.

Rider, Sidney S. (a) *Book Notes*, 1888, v. 136.—Sarcastic review of Fales' pamphlet.

(b) *Book Notes*, 1890, vii. 23.—"Mrs. Cady's book is an utter abomination."

(c) *Book Notes*, 1892, ix. 254f.—This rock and Dighton Rock are not evidence of Norse visits.

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY—PLATE XXXIV



Mark Rock glyphs f2 (upper left) and 1 (remaining three)
Photographed by E. B. Delabarre, May 30, 1923

To the names and designs of the early nineteenth century, that I have called *l*, *m*, *n*, and *o*, are to be added the following: near *o*, "Mary A. Waterman July 5th AD 1830," and "H. Waterman June 1831;" in the general section designated *d*, "J. M. Waterman," no date, with a well executed but now considerably obliterated spread-eagle and scroll underneath it.

f2 (Plate XXXIV, upper left-hand cut; Fig. 6).—This lies just to the west of *f*. It contains a number of lines that are doubtful, but also, very clearly discernible, a figure closely resembling the body of the human figure at *j*. There seem to be suggestions of a head with feathers, of two arms with spread fingers, and of legs, one with bent knee. Photograph taken slantingly, looking westward.

i (Plate XXVII; Plate XXXIV, three cuts; Fig. 6).—These three new photographs all show the same portion of the rock above, toward the west, and embrace successively more and more of the rock eastward, until the last of them includes almost all that was shown in both of the former photographs, together with the space between them. These caught a more favorable lighting than the earlier ones, and exhibit clearly marks that they did not show and that I had never happened to see on the rock itself. This is especially true in the upper part. Here all possibility of a "turkey-track," of a bow-and-arrow, and of a "ludicrous representation of a bird," that I formerly doubtfully suggested, now disappears. The upper figure is clearly that of a man. His head is in profile, facing leftward. Feathers run back to the right, and a long, big nose is pictured at the left. The right arm is seen clearly running down through the highest scaled-off section to an elbow, and thence upward and leftward through and beyond the same section, ending in a hand with spread fingers on the unscaled part of the rock. Through the same scaled section and the one below it can be traced a body and the two legs. What lies to the right of the figure is less clear, though it includes a suggestion of a left arm, possibly holding something, of which a U-shaped portion above and a portion resembling a rayed sun below are fairly distinguishable. The figure seems to represent an Indian, apparently making the

gesture of contempt vulgarly known as "thumbing the nose." If, as we conjectured, Miantonomi and his companions left their signatures here about 1640, they may conceivably also have drawn this picture to express their opinion of the whites to whom they had sold the adjoining lands; although some other significance may equally well have been intended. The entire scene depicted, including the peculiar quadrilateral design of

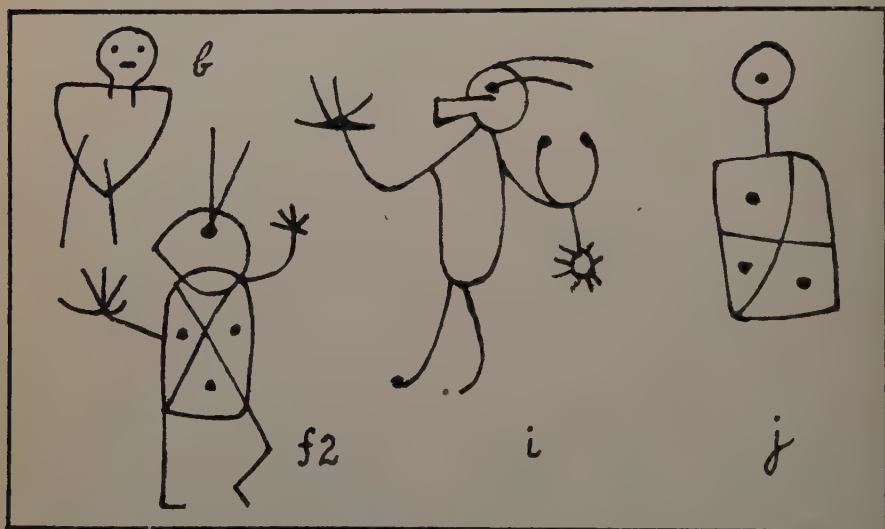


Figure 6. Probable appearance of human figures on Mark Rock.

lines and circles below, cannot now be reconstructed, and interpretation must remain doubtful.

I have never seen clearer proof than these photographs give of the fact that exfoliation of a rock-surface does not necessarily destroy the legibility of marks previously inscribed upon it. In all three of the scaled areas of *i*, some of the marks remain nearly as visible as in many cases where no scaling has occurred; and much the same thing is true of *f2* and of the Mount Hope inscription.

Since there is considerable difficulty in seeing the pictures correctly in the photographs without prolonged and microscopic

study, I present in Figure 6 the appearance of all of the human figures on Mark Rock, as I see them. They are not drawn in correct proportion, because the photographs necessarily distort them perspectively; and I am doubtful about many of the lines. There seem to have been some other human figures in *d*, but there they are particularly hard to make out.

IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

Narragansett Bay was once the centre of considerable activity in rock-carving. The distribution about the Bay, and vicinity of the various rocks and stones that we have discussed is indicated in the outline map of Plate XXXV. They might be classified, with reference to their different origins and character, as follows.

A. Dighton Rock, on Assonet Neck, the earliest one to receive inscriptions, containing records made first probably by 16th and 17th Century whites, and later by Colonial Indians.

B. Other rocks, ledges and stones, with records by Colonial Indians (Mark Rock, Tiverton, Portsmouth; probably also Swansea, Fogland Ferry, West Wrentham, Long Island, the Warren Bannerstone, and, in part at least, the Arnold's Point Cup Stone).

C. Rocks with unintentional Indian markings, resulting from their operations of grinding tools and grain (Purgatory; possibly King's Rocks).

D. Later inscriptions, probably genuine, but doubtful whether by Indians or whites (Dighton headstone, Denison tablet; possibly Arnold's Point Cup Stone in part).

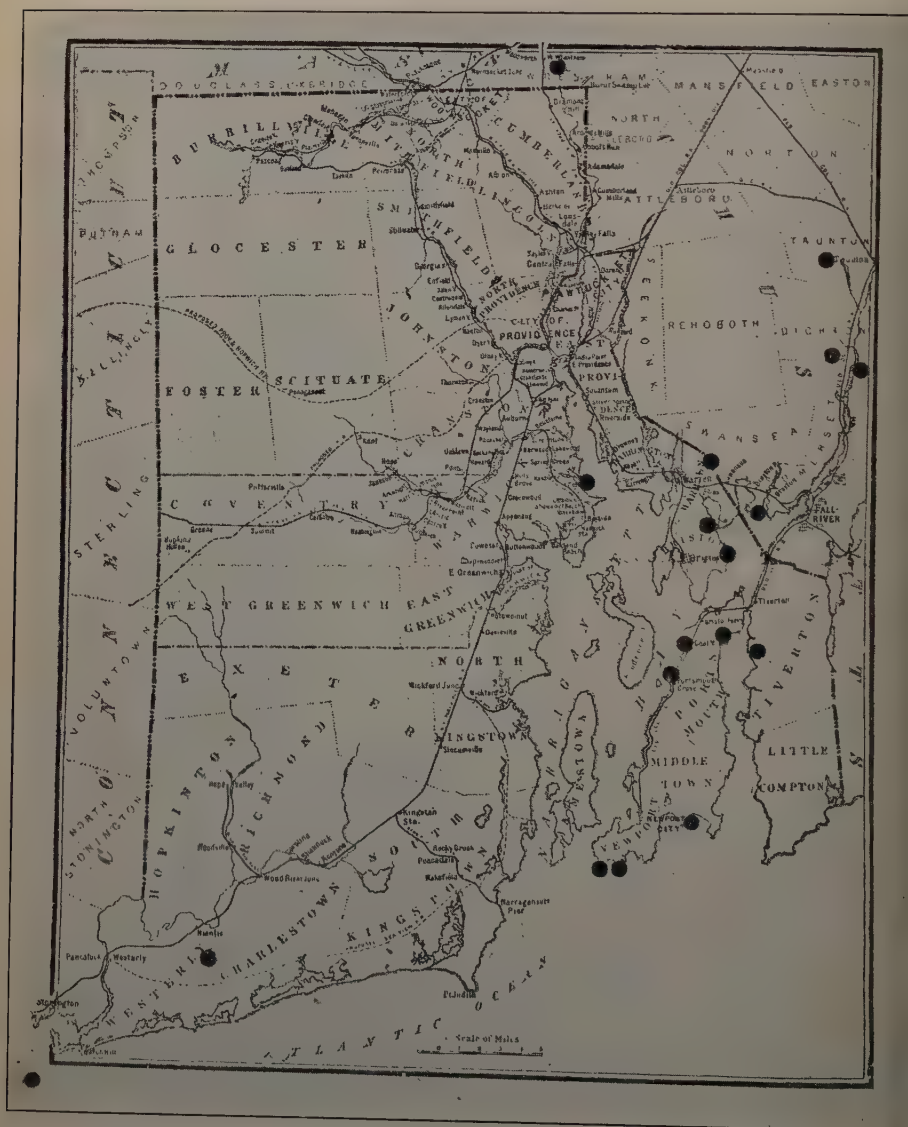
E. Early 18th Century inscriptions by a white man (Newport).

F. Late Indian, 19th Century (Mount Hope).

G. Cases of mistaken rumor or deliberate fraud (Taunton tablet; others not indicated on the map: Sachuest, Tiverton, Swansea, South Kingstown, Exeter).

The great majority of the inscriptions were made by the aboriginal Indians, most of them surely in Colonial times, although

PETROGLYPHS OF NARRAGANSETT BAY—PLATE XXXV



Map showing approximate locations of Inscribed Rocks and Stones
of the Narragansett Basin

it is possible that a few beginnings had been made earlier, during the period of exploration and early fishery. If we include the Arnold's Point Rock as of partly Indian workmanship, then there were four important localities, and probably five or six others of less consequence, at which Colonial Indians engaged in rock-carving activities. There is good reason to believe that this region about Narragansett Bay was their only noteworthy centre of this practice in New England. Early reports and later rumors of the existence of inscriptions on rocks, we have seen, are always very much in need of careful investigation. Stiles observed and copied what he believed was an ancient Phoenician inscription at Scaticook in Connecticut,¹ but no one has confirmed his discovery. He also heard of inscriptions at Nantasket,² and at Deer Island in Maine.³ Kendall saw a number of scattered simple drawings of heads, human and animal, on rocks at Bellows Falls in Vermont, and another insignificant group of five, birds and wolf, at West River near Brattleboro.⁴ I have seen photographs of these in the Gilbert Museum at Amherst College, and am inclined to think them authentic. He also saw several human figures carved on the trunk of a pine tree at Weathersfield in Vermont, which were known to have been

¹See T. H. Webb in *Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 359f; and *Publications of Colonial Soc. of Mass.*, xix. 94f.

²Manuscript Itinerary, ii., 352, June 7, 1768: "At Nantasket at South Side of South Hill is a Stone charged with Characters. Mr. Loring of Sudbury Aet 86 tells me he well remembers it."

³Manuscript Itinerary, ii. 384. On a map of islands in the mouth of Penobscot River, near the southeast corner of the southward projection of Deer Island, he marked the "place of a Rock near the shore Ten feet high & six or 8 feet wide near perpend on which are Figure of Man Boy Bow & Arrow & a fowl. Just about 25 miles from Cape Rosier at Mouth of Penobscot River." With this final quotation from Stiles, all of his manuscript references to inscribed rocks, so far as I have discovered them with the kindly assistance of Professor Franklin B. Dexter, have now been published, either in this series or in my papers on Dighton Rock, or in earlier sources there referred to.

⁴Travels, ii. 205-215; iii. 219-221.

executed by an Indian party that raided Deerfield in 1704.¹ There are "Picture Rocks" about Machias Bay in Maine, which have been described and illustrated by Mallery,² and regarded by him as the work of the Abnaki Indians. Rutland, West Newbury and Monhegan, the most celebrated rumored instances elsewhere, exhibit only the work of nature. Reports of inscriptions at several places along the coast (I find Hampton, New Hampshire, and Damariscove, Maine, mentioned in my notes) have never received corroboration by a competent authority, and may probably be regarded as unfounded. Those at Hampton, of which I have seen a drawing on a leaflet in possession of the Old Colony Historical Society, seem to be merely natural cracks and weather marks; and the others may very likely be accounted for as the work of boys for sport, inasmuch as James Phinney Baxter says that he knows of instances of alleged Norse writings on the Maine coast which had that origin.³ I have seen in New England museums a very few small stones and implements incised with decorative designs. Aside from these smaller specimens, therefore, and from the few unimportant rock-pictures in Vermont and those at the far extremity of Maine, Narragansett Bay seems to have been an isolated centre of such work, with nothing of like character occurring nearer than Pennsylvania and Ohio on the one side, and Nova Scotia on the other.

This fact gives rather strong support to a conclusion at which we have arrived from a study of the rocks themselves, namely, that the making of rock-inscriptions did not arise in New England from a spontaneous impulse and native practice of the aboriginal inhabitants, but was imitative, and due to the example of Europeans. No one of our reasons is entirely conclusive, but they all seem to point in the same direction. These reasons are three: the one just given, that nowhere else in New England, except near Nova Scotia, was there any appreciable carving on stone; that the testimony of early observers asserts that the

¹Travels, iii. 207.

²Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, Tenth Annual Report, p. 81.

³Old Colony Hist. Soc. Collections, No. 4, 1889, p. 17.

New England Indians, unlike some of the Delaware stock from which they derived, had no historical sense, no interest in their ancestors, and no records of any sort; and that the evidence of the rocks seems to show that the inscriptions were made after the arrival of white men. In regard to the second point, their lack of historical interest and the consequent probability that they made no historical records, all good authorities seem to agree. Henry E. Chase, for example, in the paper already cited, remarks upon the fact that among these Indians we find "not a trace of any attempt, before their contact with the whites, to convey to later generations an idea, either historical or otherwise, in a form likely to last;" and J. A. Goodwin, in his *Pilgrim Republic*, says of the New England Indians that they had no relics and memorials, no traditions and legendary songs, and that even the intelligent Massasoit knew nothing of his immediate predecessors.¹ Our evidence from the rocks is the following: the early white records on Dighton Rock, from 1511 to 1640, occupy a prominent position and do not seem to have been hampered by the previous presence of Indian writings; some of the Indian pictographs (Tiverton, Mark Rock) may possibly have represented Colonial soldiers, and others may plausibly be regarded as Indian signatures of Colonial times; the Mount Hope inscription was almost surely made as late as 1834. The only instances of real picture writing whose date is definitely known—those of the Dighton headstone and of the tree at Weathersfield—were executed not far from 1700; and this is one reason why the only other instances that have been reported, the

¹Godwin, p. 129.—If the Indians of New England, before the coming of Europeans, had known anything at all about the possibility of communication and of making records by means of picture-writings, one would naturally expect to find some mention of the fact in the writings of the explorers and colonists who first came in contact with them and studied their customs. I do not recall a single suggestion of the sort. On the contrary, Edward Winslow (*Good News from New England*, 1623) says that "instead of records and chronicles," they merely make a round hole in the ground near the place of any remarkable event, as an aid to memory and verbal narration; and Roger Williams (*Key*, 1643) asserts that "they have no Bookes nor Letters, and conceive their Fathers never had," and that, "having no letters, their painting"—on garments, bodies and faces—"comes the nearest."

bannerstone and the Long Island tablet, may be regarded as most likely to have been also of relatively late date.

The worn condition of the inscriptions, with the consequent difficulty in deciphering them, their appearance of great age, the mistaken belief that the rock surfaces wear away rapidly and that the lines drawn upon them become distinctly less legible within the period of a lifetime, cannot be used as a criterion of antiquity, great or little. In my earlier papers and in this series I have frequently shown evidence that the inscriptions are today as easily and accurately discernible as they were when the first description of the appearance of any of them was given, two hundred years ago. In fact, our recent flashlight photographs reveal more today than direct observation of the rocks has ever done, from the very first. A group of marks resembling "I HOWOO" was seen on one side of Dighton Rock by Stiles in 1767, and there is reason to believe that it was made not more than forty years before; yet it looked as faint and uncertain then as did the earlier carvings. The same is true today of a great many of the nineteenth century initials to be seen on almost all of the rocks. The Slocum Farm carving, made fifty years ago, looks indeterminably ancient. When shallow lines, such as are most of those of the inscriptions, are first made upon these rocks, they at first stand out clear and certain, of a lighter coloring than the natural rock-surface. But it does not take many years of weathering, varying with exposure to storm and ice and with the length of their daily covering by the tide, before their color merges into that of the rock and their outlines become blurred. Thereafter they look very old, and cannot with certainty be distinguished from natural striae, cracks and pittings; and many of the shallowest of them, satisfactorily visible when first made, disappear altogether. These rock-surfaces do not wear rapidly. The frequently expressed opinion that they do is a natural but mistaken psychological impression, and the worn appearance of their carvings is compatible with any actual age, remote or recent.

One fact of interest concerning the rocks that have been inscribed in this region is that they are all submerged at high tide,

with the exception formerly of the one at Mount Hope. Various opinions have been expressed as to the reason for such a position. The one that appeals to me is that all of the localities where they are situated were probably not far from Indian villages or encampments, and were places where Indians gathered in considerable numbers at low tide for digging clams, darting fish, drawing fish-nets, and for incidental bathing and social pleasures. Some of the more idle of them, after the idea had been suggested to them by the practices of white men, amused themselves and others by making these pictures and haphazard lines. The same impulse, in the opinion of Kendall, was responsible for the carvings in Vermont—"the work of idle hours," "the whim of vacant moments," at a fishing resort; and likewise, according to W. T. Holland,¹ for certain petroglyphs in Pennsylvania, which "speak of an idle hour and the outgoing of the pictorial instinct which exists in all men," and which were executed, he thinks, by "lazy Indians, engaged in fishing and hunting, and amusing themselves by depicting things on the smooth surface of the stone."

In thus advocating a trivial origin and a consequent lack of important significance for these pictographs, we are at variance with the beliefs of many eminent archæologists. Brinton, Mallery, Henshaw and others refuse to believe that, with rare exceptions, Indian pictographs can be "idle scrawls," and assert that "significance is an essential element" of them."² Most of those who have attempted to interpret the records on Dighton Rock have taken all of its carvings as forming together one connected story. In this they are certainly wrong. The most plausible interpretations of the designs upon this rock, and the scattered and unconnected positions of the drawings upon Mark Rock and, according to Kendall, upon those at Bellows Falls, are a convincing testimony that they were made at various times by many individuals. With the disappearance of any possibility of

¹International Congress of Americanists, 13th session, 1902, pp. 1-4. Richard Andree also, in *Ethnographische Parallelen*, 1878, p. 260, expresses the belief that "petroglyphs are usually made for mere pastime."

²Publications of the Colonial Soc. of Mass., xx., 336-342.

connected meaning that can be plausibly assigned to the whole collection of glyphs upon any one rock,—except for that at Mount Hope and some of the smaller stones,—it remains only to examine the individual designs to determine whether or not they constitute important records. The answer to this question seems to be unmistakable. We have repeatedly seen reason to believe that some of the markings are indeed mere “idle scrawls,” childish and haphazard scribbles, the outcome merely of an impulse to be doing something, and perhaps to attract attention from idle companions. These easily merge into ornamental and pictorial designs, without symbolic significance, made for similar reasons and likely to arouse a larger degree of immediate admiration; and some of the designs upon our rocks are of this character. The next natural step is an easy one: the delineating of forms that may have been “mnemonic,” or have had some significance other than decorative or pictorial to those who made them, but one that could not possibly be more than guessed at by anyone else to whom they were not explained. There are doubtless instances of it here, the most probable of which seem to be the designs composed of triangles on Dighton Rock and the glyphs in position *i* on Mark Rock. Of pictures representing definite and recognizable objects, but without probable further significance, there are a few: human beings, deer, turtle. Of probable, or at least possible, signatures of individuals there are a few. Until we come to the smaller stones of probably later date and to the Mount Hope rock, this is all that the Indian inscriptions of this region contain, so far as we can be sure and so far as is at all probable. There is not a single readable instance of a collection of pictographic or ideographic devices that would have been at all likely to possess a generally accepted and interpretable symbolic character. The conclusion seems to be justified that in New England, at least, the Indian carvings on rocks were truly some of them meaningless scrawls, ornamental designs, and pictures, and that none of them possessed any further meaning that was important or discoverable by anyone except the maker of them. Their execution was a pastime of idle and social leisure, was suggested by similar, though purposeful,

activities of white men, and was due to no higher psychological impulses than the urge to be doing something interesting and the desire for attracting attention. Some of the small stones, such as those from Warren and Long Island, seem to contain truly symbolic writings; but, if the above conclusions are justified, this fact would strengthen our already formed suspicion that all such are of later date. Algonkin Indians made pictographic writings elsewhere; but, so far as we have present evidence, this practise did not arise in New England until after European influences had been felt, and then only to a small extent.

Summing up the whole matter briefly, it looks to me very probable that the first rock-records were made by Miguel Cortereal in 1511 and by one or two other white men up to 1640; that Indians followed, after some or all of these were made, with numerous carvings on rock and stone in this region, but rarely elsewhere in New England; that their designs were trivial scribblings and pictures, with little or no meaning attached to them, until, perhaps toward the end of the seventeenth century, a few small stones only began to be inscribed with truly symbolic (pictographic or ideographic) writings; and that one last example of a record by an Indian, in a well-known conventional system of writing, was made as late as 1834. I submit these conclusions, however, with due reservation, realizing that they cannot be susceptible of absolute proof. The rocks themselves are too worn, the markings on them frequently too obscure, the known historical facts too meagre and the other pertinent ones too undiscoverable, to permit full certitude. Nevertheless, I entertain the hope that I have succeeded in presenting in each case the opinion that is most plausible in the light of present information, and the entire series of conclusions taken together has the merit of forming a consistent and unified picture of petroglyphic activities in New England.



*Landung einer Französischen Hülf-
Armee in America, zu Rhode Island.
am 11^{ten} Julius 1780.*

Landing of the French troops at Newport in 1780 from an engraving published in the *Historisch-genealogischer Calender oder Jahrbuch* for 1784, Leipzig.

In the Shepley Library